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Note to Contributors:

In 1962 the Museum initiated *The Textile Museum Journal* to foster research and publication on the history of textile arts. Emphasis is placed primarily upon research relating to textiles from the geographic areas represented in the Museum's collections: the Near East, Central, South, and Southeast Asia, and South and Central America. The journal provides a forum for original research on the artistic and technical aspects of textiles in their historic and cultural contexts.

The Textile Museum Journal invites submission of original articles that fall within its aims and scope. Manuscripts should be twenty to forty-five double-spaced typed pages and be accompanied by an abstract and cover sheet with title and short autobiographical statement.

Authors must follow the most recent edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* (currently 13th ed.). Authors may submit no more than twenty good-quality 4 x 5 or 8 x 10 black-and-white glossy photographs, including camera-ready artwork. All illustrative material must be accompanied by a separately typed sheet of figure captions.

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Cover: Fragment with forequarters of a hare (dog?). Fourth century or later. 5 1/4 x 4 5/8". Acquired in 1948 from Michel Abemayor, New York. T.M. 72.165 (see Sara Wolf Green, "An Anecdotal History of Conservation at The Textile Museum: 1926-1989").

Cover Photography: Raymond Schwartz

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The Textile Museum

The Textile Museum is dedicated to furthering the understanding of mankind's creative achievements in the textile arts. As a museum, it is committed to its role as a center of excellence in the scholarly research, conservation, interpretation, and exhibition of textiles, with particular concern for the artistic, technical, and cultural significance of its collections. The mission is pursued through development and maintenance of collections, records, and a library, as well as through scholarly research, exhibitions, publications, and educational programs.

The Museum is open free of charge Tuesdays through Saturdays 10:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. and Sundays 1:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m. Closed Mondays and legal holidays.

The Arthur D. Jenkins Library is open to the public Wednesdays through Fridays 10:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. and Saturdays 10:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.

In Memoriam: Arthur D. Jenkins, 1897-1988



Arthur D. Jenkins, as pictured here by portraitist Robert Templeton in 1976, is surrounded by evidence of his two passions: books and Oriental rugs. Arthur D. Jenkins was an energetic collector, connoisseur, and bibliophile. A collector, he avidly pursued rugs, learning as he went along about prized rugs, neglected rugs, and the perceived differences between them. A connoisseur, he was determined to buy only the finest specimens with a view to presenting his collection to The Textile Museum. A bibliophile, he sought out rare volumes on Oriental carpets and proudly claimed that with every rug he bought a book, and with every book, a rug.

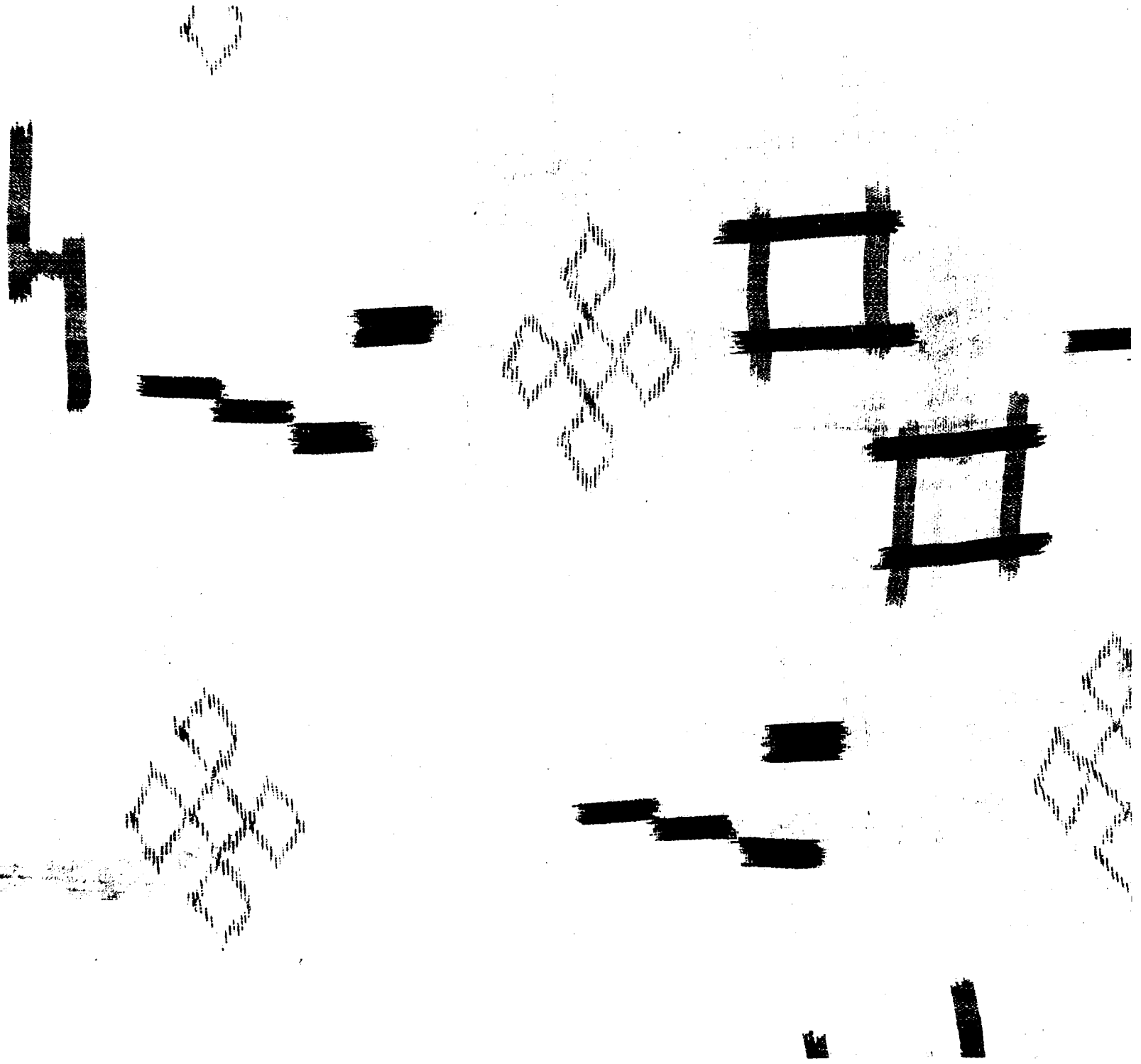
A strong civic leader in Mascoutah, Illinois, newspaperman and publisher, and president and owner of Jenkins Publishing Company, Mr. Jenkins served on The Textile Museum Board of Trustees for 19 years and as its President from 1980 through 1983. His legacy to the Museum rests both in his energetic leadership and in the magnificent collection of over 250 rugs and nomadic trappings that he presented to the Museum by gift and bequest. His personal library, which he presented to The Textile Museum in 1962, numbered over 850 volumes and comprised, at that time, some 80% of the total of rug books known to have been published since 1870. The Arthur D. Jenkins Library at The Textile Museum now houses over 13,000 volumes and is the most comprehensive textile study center of its kind in the country.

Arthur D. Jenkins was adventurous, a risk taker. His friend and colleague Russell Pickering notes, "Whether buying a bankrupt country newspaper in the Depression, founding a printing business to serve a new industry, reconstructing a historical site (Fort Meigs, Ohio) before such things became popular, building a major library on textiles and carpets when few cared, leading a museum from obscurity to the state of the art, or drawing together one of America's greatest Islamic rug collections from areas and types which were unpopular even among the few existing collectors of the day, Arthur D. Jenkins almost never, ever, sided with the majority. Which is undoubtedly a fundamental reason for the successes he enjoyed throughout his long and productive life."

Arthur Jenkins was a pioneer. His legacy to The Textile Museum is enduring. His leadership continues to inspire and focus the Museum's institutional energy.

Ursula Eland McCracken
Director

Figure 1a and 1b. Details of kimono from Miyako or Yaeyama (see Fig. 3). Most motifs used in Okinawan ikat are symbolic, usually related to the agricultural cycle. Photo by Franko Khoury.



Textile Production under the Poll Tax System in Ryukyu

by Amanda Mayer Stinchecum

Nintōzei, the notorious poll tax imposed on Miyako, Yaeyama, and Kumejima by the Shuri government soon after the invasion of the Ryukyu kingdom by the Japanese domain of Satsuma in 1609, was levied on adults between the ages of fifteen and fifty, based on assessed production values, or *kokudaka*, and population figures for each of the island groups, expressed in *koku* of rice.[1] A *koku* was the amount of rice needed to feed one man for one year. These taxes were payable in grain, a proportion of which was converted into tax cloth, *kōnōfu*. Taxes levied on the other islands of Ryukyu, including Okinawa, were based on land allotment, *jiwari*.

The very existence of tax textiles renders them significant to the textile specialist, but how important were they in the culture of Ryukyu itself? The burden of tax-cloth production, apart from the cultivation of fiber and dye plants, fell primarily on women. Although wives of certain officials were exempt from the poll tax, the remainder of the female population between the ages of fifteen and fifty were taxed.[2] Those under fifteen and over fifty would have been engaged in learning the necessary skills or using ones already acquired to assist those making tax cloth. It is hazardous to draw conclusions about the past from present conditions or undocumented hearsay. Nevertheless, weavers in Okinawa today testify that in their grandmothers' time—from late Meiji (1868-1912) until World War II—weaving was a part of the daily life of all village women. These circumstances suggest that this custom either evolved in response to the requirements of the poll tax, or had existed prior to it.

Among the villagers of the Outer Islands (Miyako and Yaeyama), the custom of making cloth for the robes worn by local priestesses and by the villagers themselves for participation in festivals persists today. In Yaeyama, on the island of Iriomote, Ishigaki Akiko has made ramie cloth to replace old robes worn by the priestess at the village shrine. On Kohama it is still customary for the women of the island to dye and weave new clothing for their families to wear in celebrating the annual harvest festival. Although these practices may have developed since the abolition of the poll tax, there may be evidence from earlier times in songs of the period.

At the Shuri court, within the government and among local officials, details of textile design—color, material, and size of individual motifs—as well as clothing played a major role in signifying social status. But it was not only within Ryukyu that textiles were viewed as signs of status and prestige. Rolls of ramie cloth sent to Satsuma (present-day Kagoshima, in southern Kyushu) each year as tribute were valued by Satsuma at 1,322 *koku* of rice but had a market value of about ten times that, according to Sakihara Mitsugu in his study of Ryukyu finances in relation to Satsuma.[3] In addition, cloth was sent to the resident Ryukyuan representative of the Shuri government in Satsuma to be used as official gifts there, and some was also sent to China as tribute.

Ryukyuan textiles may have reached the Owari Tokugawa house (one of the three collateral houses of the

Tokugawa family, which ruled Japan for nearly 300 years) as early as the second half of the 17th century. The material used to make a *haori* (jacket) in the Tokugawa Art Museum said to have been worn by Tokugawa Tsunanari (1652-99) may be Ryukyuan in origin. Costume historian Kamiya Eiko asserts that it is Ryukyuan ramie cloth, but presents no convincing evidence for either origin or material.[4] If the fiber used is indeed ramie, the textile itself could have come from Echigo, for example—another area where ikat-patterned, fine ramie textiles were developed. It is relatively simple to distinguish between banana fiber and ramie by examining cross-sections of the fiber in question under a microscope, although obtaining clear cross-sections from fibers hundreds of years old is not without difficulties. Scientific analysis of the fiber, as well as dyes or pigments used, and an examination of contemporary documents regarding exchanges between the Owari Tokugawa and Ryukyu, might lead to a more solid identification.

Ryukyu's textiles are today highly prized by connoisseurs of the decorative arts in Japan and other parts of the world where people have become familiar with them. Many of the Ryukyuan textiles that have come down to us today were made under the *nintōzei* system. The richly colored examples of *jōfu* (superior cloth made of fine ramie) from Miyako and Yaeyama, and the subtle checks of Kumejima *tsumugi* (pongee) that date from before abolition of the poll tax may have been produced as tax cloth. Characterized by rhythmic vibrance and both boldness and delicacy in design and color, the textiles made under the patronage and supervision of the Shuri government are known for their highly refined techniques of weaving and dyeing. Specialists and connoisseurs readily recognize their influence on Japanese textiles, particularly on the ikat (*kasuri*) used by all social classes throughout Japan during the 19th century. Both aesthetically and technically they rank among the finest in the world.

The cultural significance of Ryukyu's textiles is unquestionable. But we can also discern something of their economic importance as well—to the communities that made them, to the Shuri government, and to Satsuma. A description of the overall economic picture of a single village would be helpful in order to suggest the importance of textile production to individual lives. But the difficulty of gleaning comprehensive data from old records, written by local officials who had private gain and concealment of fiscal and other irregularities in mind, was noted by Sasamori Gisuke in 1893.

A Meiji official from Aomori, Sasamori (1845-1915) was dispatched to Okinawa in 1893 to report on conditions since the Meiji Restoration (1868), primarily with a view to determining the suitability of promoting the sugar industry there. He visited most of the islands of the Miyako and Yaeyama groups, but not Kumejima. His journal, *Nantō tanken*, is a valuable (and moving) source of information about the islands. Upon examining data recorded for the village of Haemi on Iriomote a year before his visit—indicating that the most able women would each be required to produce about four meters of fine white ramie cloth per year, a light burden indeed—he comments, "Here are the [figures for] exports and imports, for barter and sale of commodities, for taxes. Presented here, how are they different from other prefectures? But these are only the jottings of a village official, who merely made them as a formality, for those above him." [5] In addition, the available data for individual villages, both in documents of the time like *Nantō tanken* and in recent studies such as those of Inemura Kenpu and Shimajiri Katsutarō, tend to be frag-

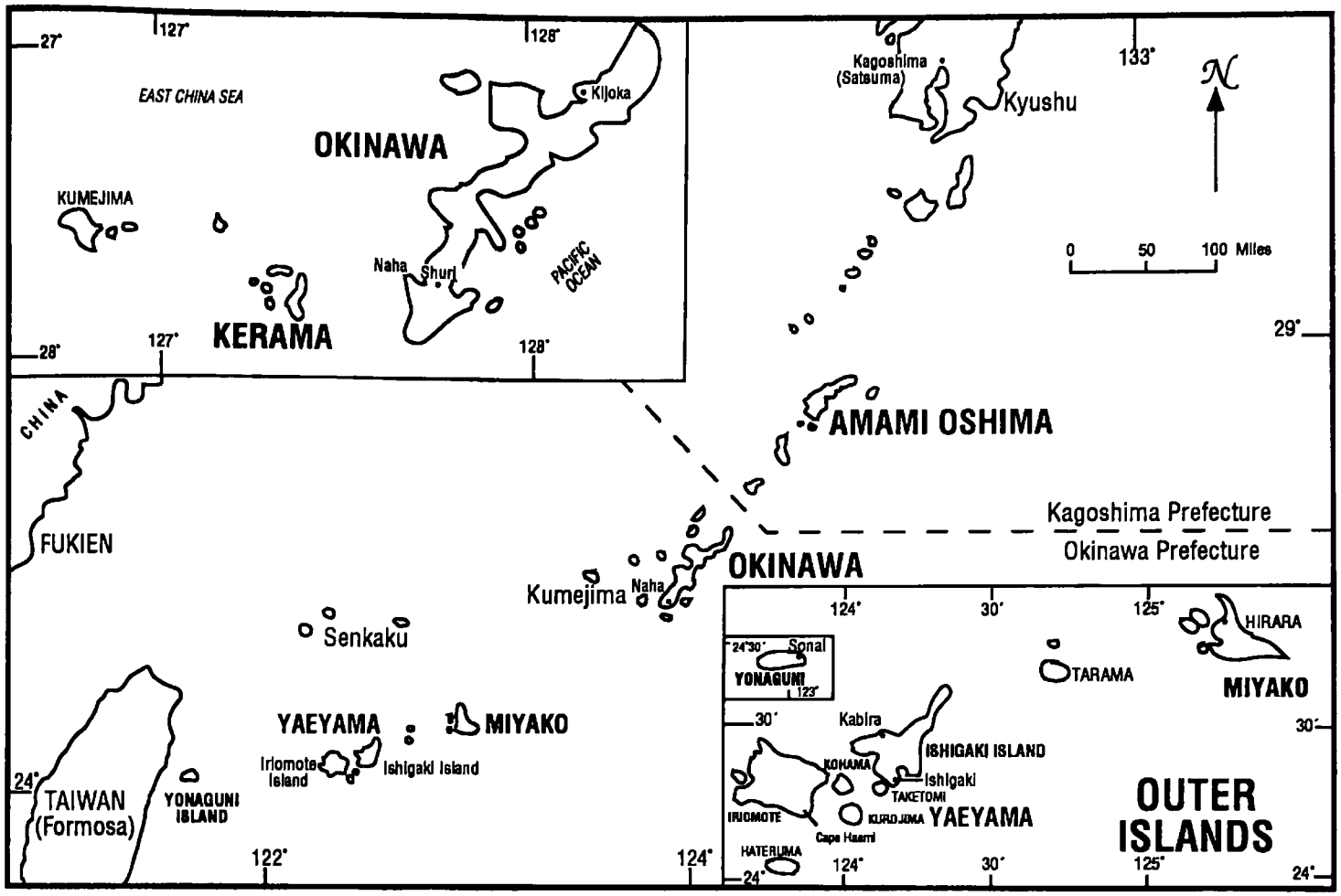


Figure 2. Ryukyu Islands including Okinawa Prefecture.

mentary. Sasamori notes the total number of rolls of cloth (498 *tan*) for one district (*mura*) of Yonaguni and the number of women, 672, for 1872.[6] But either the records he is examining do not include the number of women exempt from tax cloth production or a breakdown of the number of rolls of different types and grades of cloth (without which their value in grain cannot be calculated to make comparison with total production possible), or Sasamori himself chose not to include these figures in his journal.

It is possible, however, to form a general idea of tax cloth production in relation to the total tax assessment for Miyako as a whole. Forty-nine percent of the total taxes for 1749 were paid in cloth, or 20.6% of the revised *kokudaka*. The percentage for Yaeyama is even higher, 26.2%, according to Sakihara. For Miyako, 2,659 *koku* of the total taxes of 5,438 *koku* were paid in cloth; in Yaeyama, 1,803 *koku* of a total 3,595 *koku* were paid in cloth.[7] Kishaba Eijun notes that in 1919, the total income from ikat-patterned Yaeyama *jōfu* sold outside Yaeyama amounted to ¥3,002,587, making it the most prominent industry at that time.[8] It is curious that despite this, and despite the apparent importance of textile production under *nintōzei*, further development of the textile industry was not considered by the Meiji government. From accounts written before the abolition of the poll tax in 1903, the Japanese government seems to have considered only the potential of the sugar industry in the Outer Islands. In order to understand in greater depth the economic importance of textile production in the Satsuma and Meiji periods, it is necessary to examine and analyze primary sources.

Shimajiri notes that after changes in allotment methods were made in 1711, the principal tax assessment was 4,598 *koku*. Of this, 2,659 *koku* was con-

verted to cloth. In other words, of the principal tax, 57.8% was paid in cloth, 20.8% of the total *kokudaka* of Miyako. But in addition, he notes, there were *minpi*—essentially, funds for maintaining public facilities such as schools and the local government itself—amounting to 4,759 *koku*, according to an 1892 report from the head of the Miyako government office.[9] Without examining his sources, there appears to be too much of a temporal discrepancy between the figures of 1711 and those of 1892 to consider percentages of the total of the two, as Shimajiri does. These are significant quantities, taken at face value. Of course, we must judge them in relation to real production values, *seisandaka*, the determination of which appears to be extremely troublesome. The percentage of the real production value paid in tax cloth amounted to 10.3% or 53.5%, depending on whose calculations you rely upon. Sakihara estimates that the actual yield for all of Ryukyu had by 1750 reached a figure of more than twice the *kokudaka* due to land reclamation, more productive methods of cultivation, etc.[10] If we apply this conclusion to Miyako and Yaeyama, the percentage of the actual total yield of all products occupied by tax cloth becomes approximately 10.3% and 13.1% respectively.

But Toguchi Masakiyo, in his study of Ryukyu's economic history, *Kinsei no Ryūkyū*, calculates that the *kokudaka* for 1629 is 2.6 times an interpolated *seisandaka* for 1625 on the basis of a statement in "Gozaisei" (an official chronicle compiled in 1715) that half of the total yield should be paid in taxes. He then projects this ratio (*kokudaka* = 2.6 x *seisandaka*) throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, disregarding the possibility that the 50/50 ideal stated in "Gozaisei" may have applied neither in 1625, ninety years before it was written, nor in the later 18th and 19th centuries.[11]

If we accept Toguchi's calculations, the *seisandaka* for Miyako in 1750 would be 12,918 *koku* divided by 2.6, or 4,968.46 *koku*. The quantity of tax cloth, expressed in *koku*, paid in 1749 was 2,659 *koku*, or 53.52% of the total yield (*seisandaka*). As this ratio is basic to Toguchi's theory of the source of the extreme hardship suffered under the *nintōzei* system, especially in Miyako, further examination of his methods and sources would be helpful. In addition to tax cloth, indigo dye, cotton bolls, ramie fiber, and cloth were produced for sale or barter, at least in the late 19th century.

In terms of Ryukyu's relation to Satsuma, the total tax Ryukyu paid to Satsuma amounted to only 14,200 *koku*, while tax cloth acquired from Miyako and Yaeyama represents 31.42% of that figure. According to Sakihara, the amount of tax paid to Satsuma by Ryukyu remained at 14,200 *koku* until the end of the Tokugawa period. In the early 19th century, Ryukyu paid to Satsuma 1,322 *koku* in textiles, out of a total tribute-tax of 14,200 *koku*, or about 9.3%. But, Sakihara asserts, they were acquired by Satsuma at about 10% of market value, so that Satsuma received the equivalent of 13,220 *koku* in textiles, certainly a significant quantity.[12] Shimajiri states that 6,000 rolls of fine ramie cloth (*Ryūkyū jōfu*) and 10,000 rolls of lower grade ramie cloth (*Ryūkyū gefu*) were sent to Satsuma.[13] He implies that this was a yearly shipment, but cites no sources. In order to determine the significance of that shipment, once verified, the 16,000 rolls of cloth must be reconverted to *koku* of rice. Although the quantitative significance of textile production in Ryukyu, in terms of the women who made the cloth, the Shuri government, and Shuri's relation to Satsuma remains to be systematically set out, there can be no doubt about the cultural, social, and political importance of textiles in

Ryukyu at all of these levels.

Soon after the Satsuma invasion, cloth and textile fibers were levied on Ryukyu as tribute, based on a cadastral survey carried out in 1611. In a document of that date, Satsuma demanded 3,000 rolls of banana fiber cloth (*bashōfu*), 6,000 rolls of fine ramie cloth, 10,000 rolls of lower grade ramie cloth, 1,300 *kin* of ramie fiber (1 *kin*=0.6 kg), and three *kamme* of silk floss.[14] Although Satsuma demanded a large quantity of *bashōfu* (3,000 rolls, about six times the amount produced yearly by the Kijoka Bashōfu Cooperative today) at this early date, *bashōfu* was not, as far as the author knows, ever levied as tax cloth on the islands by the Shuri government. Tanaka Toshio, in his important study of Okinawan textiles, tantalizingly notes that in 1646 a special post known as the *bashō-atari* was established, and that in the 18th century *bashōfu* made in Shuri was particularly valued, but gives no further information or sources.[15] These levies were thereafter converted to silver, corvée labor, and rice.[16] The establishment of workshops for making yarn and weaving cloth in villages throughout the Outer Islands in 1614 suggests that a system was already in place for controlling the production of tribute cloth more than twenty years before the imposition of *nintōzei*.[17] Most scholars regard 1637 as the beginning of the poll tax system in Miyako and Yaeyama.[18] The question of whether a kind of poll tax existed in Ryukyu prior to the Satsuma invasion is beyond the scope of this article.

Describing the taxation structure on Kumejima, Yasue Kōji quotes the Okinawa prefectural history in describing the situation on Kumejima.[19] But he does not deal with the economic issues of the poll tax on Kumejima in any detail.

Taxes were levied against the 1635 *kokudaka* based on a recent census.[20] Imposed by the Shuri government on a year-to-year basis, taxes were levied according to the currently-assessed *kokudaka* for each island group and population surveys carried out by Shuri.[21] The tax burden borne by each taxable individual was thus determined yearly, and varied according to the *kokudaka* (which changed little after 1635), eligible population, and village rating. In 1659, Shuri adopted fixed tax values for Miyako and Yaeyama, based on a 1658 population survey. Tax values remained fixed, regardless of significant fluctuations in population throughout the Tokugawa Period.[22] Part of the poll tax, assessed in *koku* of grain, was converted to cloth at rates specified by and favorable to the Shuri government. Although there were limited levies of tax cloth on men, in general tax payments were rendered in grain by men and in cloth by women.[23]

On Miyako, where millet replaced rice as the tax grain, and in Yaeyama, tax cloth was primarily made of ramie, a plant fiber probably indigenous to the Ryukyus.[24] The undyed textiles known as *jōfu*, *chūfu*, and *gefu* were fine, medium, and coarse grades of ramie cloth. On Miyako, also included in cloth levies were *kon saijōfu*, dark blue extra fine ramie cloth; *shiro saijōfu*, white extra fine ramie cloth; *shiro chijimifu*, white crepe; and *shiro momenfu*, white cotton cloth. In Yaeyama, the categories of tax cloth, in addition to the three grades of plain white ramie cloth, were: *konshima jōfu*, dark blue striped or ikat fine ramie cloth; medium and coarse grades of the same; *akashima jōfu*, fine white ramie cloth with dark brown ikat; medium and coarse grades of the same; 17-*yomi konshima jōfu*, dark blue striped or ikat ramie cloth with 17 warps per centimeter; 20-*yomi konshima jōfu*, dark blue striped or ikat ramie cloth with 20 warps per centimeter; and *konshima saijōfu*, dark blue extra-fine striped or ikat ramie cloth.[25] *Konshima saijōfu* was probably used as a vague term that in-

cluded dark blue striped or ikat extra-fine ramie cloth of 19 or more warps per centimeter, including 20-*yomi konshima jōfu*. The word *shima*, which in contemporary Japanese can mean either "island" or "stripe," was used to refer to ikat-patterned as well as striped cloth. The tax cloth of Kumejima was pongee (*tsumugi*), a fabric made of spun silk floss. Kumejima *tsumugi* was patterned with stripes, checks, and ikat. Shuri specified quantity, quality, and color of the cloth to be collected, either in written instructions or through books of painted design sheets known as *miezuchō*.[26]

Although the tax assessment on the Outer Islands was regarded as especially onerous, it may have become so only in the 19th century, when Satsuma's straitened financial circumstances put additional pressure on the Shuri government, and by which time egregious abuses of power by local officials had become widespread. Japan's annexation of the Ryukyus in 1879 did not end the poll tax, which remained in effect until 1903, when it was finally abandoned by the Japanese government due to the efforts of the abolition movement on Miyako.

What has gone before serves only as a preamble to the problem of how the *nintōzei* system structured textile production and changed not only production but the product during those 266 years. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to look not only at textiles under the poll tax system, but also at the role textiles played in the social structure and economy of Ryukyu, as well as the levels of their technical and artistic development *before* the imposition of the poll tax.

The system for administering tax cloth production was quite elaborate, involving various categories of taxes as well as both central and local bureaucracies. This complexity was compounded by the intricate apparatus of village and individual ranking and of the types of cloth produced, each type given a different value in terms of grain. The individual tax burden varied according to all these factors in addition to population changes, and, within a given population group, the number exempt from taxation. Since several of these factors changed significantly during the *nintōzei* period, putting together a smattering of data from one era and another does not present an adequate picture of textile production under *nintōzei* in general, nor allow a coherent reconstruction of the system at any point within the period.

The most important documents of that time, of course, are the textiles themselves, but of those that have come down to us few are older than late 19th century. Further efforts are needed, however, to identify and date them in order to begin the establishment of a chronological development. The *miezuchō* provide an extremely valuable source for comparison. These design



Figure 3. Kimono, cut Okinawan style. Plain weave; ramie warp and weft. Light blue-green ground with dark blue warp, weft, and double ikat motifs. From Miyako or Yaeyama, 19th century (TM 1963.15.9). Photo by Franko Khoury.

books seem to have been distributed through the Naden (Nadun in Shuri), part of the Department of Palace Affairs. But whether they were the result of one creative intelligence, many different artists, or the codification of long-standing traditional designs remains to be discovered.[27] The *miezuchō* represent a key to the relation between the Shuri government and the textiles produced under its direction, for they were the material connection between the two. Along with the administrative manuals, genealogies, and regional histories still being compiled by local government offices, they must be examined in relation to more subjective sources. These include narrative accounts, songs, and stories that have come down to us about the period. Sasamori's *Nantō tanken*, Ichiki Kitokuro's "Ichiki Shokikan torishirabesho," and Uesugi Shigenori's "Okinawa-ken junkai nisshi" give us not only information about prevailing conditions at the end of the *nintōzei* period but at the same time interpretations of that information, suggesting possible directions for our own. Perhaps earlier journals will come to light, and those of foreign visitors to Ryukyu should be examined as well.

A number of secondary sources have been provocative and helpful. In the broader context of Ryukyuan history, two works raise issues important to textile history in particular. Sakihara's unpublished study of Ryukyu's economic relation to Satsuma[28] addresses the issue of Satsuma's alleged enslavement of the kingdom from the beginning of the 17th century. He establishes that Satsuma's exploitation of Ryukyu did not begin until 1830, primarily through trade monopolies rather than heavier taxation. This suggests the possibility that the desperate conditions obtaining in Miyako and Yaeyama, as described by Sasamori and other contemporary accounts of the late 19th century, did not result from the institution of the fixed-value poll tax in 1659, but arose much later. The grim and humiliating circumstances under which tax cloth was produced and inspected, recounted by Meiji officials and through stories handed down to their descendants by women who labored under the poll tax, may also have been a late development. On the other hand, Kishaba Eijun compares figures for the average tax burden of all those included in population surveys (regardless of tax status) of Yaeyama for the years 1675 and 1892, 0.429 *koku* and 0.275 *koku*, respectively. This, if accurate, clearly indicates a decrease in the tax burden toward the end of the *nintōzei* period.[29] Whether or not this is the case alters our understanding of *nintōzei*'s effect on the development of the textile arts in Ryukyu.

Toguchi makes the critical point that it was not the *nintōzei* system as such that was cruel, but, particularly on Miyako, the assessment of the poll tax against a *kokudaka* that was far greater than (estimated) actual production figures.[30] This is crucial to our understanding of the economic causes of the system's oppressiveness. Toguchi's argument depends on the validity of his method of estimating actual production figures. If we accept his analysis of the ratios of *kokudaka* to *seisandaka* in Miyako, Yaeyama, and Okinawa, which he calculates as 2.6, 2.0, and 1.6 respectively, we might be inclined to attribute the origin of the abolition movement on Miyako to the greater desperation of its people. The high degree of specialization in the process of making Miyako *jōfu* today, the complete absence of the finished product in the lives of the people who make it, the control exerted by the local textile cooperative, and the attitudes of the people who run it seem to tie the Miyako textile industry more closely to its feudal past than textile production in other areas of Okinawa.[31]

Miyako seems to have been given more attention by Japanese scholars than other areas, possibly because the abolition movement originated there, although documents relating to the period are far scarcer than in neighboring Yaeyama. Inemura (1957) presents a succinct outline of textile production under *nintōzei*, useful for sifting through broader or more scattered references to the subject, but his citation of sources is sporadic at best. Shimajiri provides analyses of some original sources that illuminate certain aspects of the system and illustrates the problems inherent in attempting to deal with scattered data. Kishaba Kazutaka's articles on "Miyako Yaeyama ryōshima ezuchō" (administrative manuals of 1647) present population figures for Yaeyama and cloth conversion rates for Miyako that could be helpful in determining the individual economic burden during the early period of the poll tax.

Few works deal at length with textile history in Ryukyu. The single major source is *Okinawa orimono no kenkyū* by Tanaka Toshio and Tanaka Reiko, which includes the ikats woven as tax cloth. But the Tanakas' concern seems to lie primarily in the pre-Satsuma period on the one hand and 20th-century techniques on the other, although they do introduce some *nintōzei* period evidence for various aspects of the latter. But, although they do not address directly the issue of *nintōzei* itself and how it affected textiles, the work is essential background material for any study of Ryukyuan textiles.[32]

Kishaba Eijun's history of Yaeyama presents some provocative data, which, to my knowledge, succeeding scholars have not examined further, but which have serious implications for our understanding of textile production. He states that in 1893 a quantity of tax cloth was stipulated, and that a portion of this was reconverted into grain; that is, textiles had replaced rice as the primary stuff of tax payments.[33] Ōhama, in his discussion of tax cloth in Yaeyama, relies almost exclusively on two types of oral transmission: undated interviews with men and women who survived the *nintōzei* system, and folk songs.[34] Although we may lament the unsystematic methods he employed, it seems wasteful to discard this kind of evidence as worthless. I prefer instead to raise the question of what use scholarship can make of it. Was there really a woman who, at the suggestion of a local government official, climbed on top of a stone wall and urinated onto the main street of Ishigaki in order to gain his cooperation when her tax cloth underwent inspection? Was the designated width of all *jōfu* in fact eighteen inches?[35] At the very least, while pointing to particulars that may or may not be true as related, this kind of testimony illustrates attitudes held about the period, raises questions about particular events, issues or data, and may suggest avenues of investigation to be pursued. In some cases, further interviews or comparison with contemporary conditions may clarify past accounts. Songs, too, are not historical narratives but fictions made by art (whether the product of a single imagination or a cultural group); they follow conventions of language and form, created in order to produce in the listener a certain response. They can tell us about commonly held attitudes of singer and listener toward the subject of the song, giving us a kind of insight we could not hope to elicit from primary sources (the "laundry lists" of history). The lyricism of "Tsukiyohama," comparing a field of cotton to a moonlit beach, and "Ayagu nara," a song about the cooperation of all the different people involved in making *jōfu*, provide potent images of the joy, close to awe, felt by the women of the islands towards the act of producing a beautiful piece of cloth.[36]

The fact that that exultation was possible under the hardships, duress, and humiliations described by contemporary sources like *Nantō tanken* gives us some intimation of what makes Ryukyuan textiles special. It is hard to imagine the weavers in 19th-century Glasgow textile mills voicing their elation as each Paisley shawl rolled off the looms. The pride and pleasure the women of Ryukyu felt in their weaving must have existed long before the imposition of the poll tax, and these feelings have survived eighty-five years since its abolition. But what did the production of such remarkably beautiful textiles have to do with *nintōzei*? In what way did the economic and social conditions, as well as the exacting supervision and inspection under which they were made, affect the resulting product? At the very least, we can say that the technical refinements of yarn-making, ikatting, dyeing, and weaving—polished and perfected in response to the stringent demands of Shuri and Satsuma—made the most of the qualities inherent in silk, ramie and banana fibers, indigo and other vegetable dyes, as well as the ikat technique itself. The superb textiles of Ryukyu carry these elements to the extreme limits of their potential, and are worth our attention not only because of their social and economic importance but because they are beautiful.

I wish to acknowledge the help and encouragement of the following people and institutions, without whom I would not have been able to begin my work on Okinawan textiles or present it at the 1989 annual conference of the Association for Asian Studies. This study is dedicated to the memory of Ōshiro Shizuko, whose work and knowledge will continue to inspire those of us concerned with the conjunction of the material and the scholarly, in all their ramifications. My especial thanks to the Social Science Research Council, the Tokyo National Institute for Research on Cultural Properties, the Hosei University Institute of Okinawan Studies, the International Society for Ryukyuan Studies, the Northeast Asia Council of AAS; to Louise Cort, Hashimoto Hirotsugi, Masuda Katsuhiko, Musha Eiji, Niki Kenji, Richard Pearson, Sakihara Mitsugu, Sasaki Toshikazu, Taira Kōji, Takara Kurayoshi, Tanaka Reiko, Uezu Toshio, Yokota Reiko, and to four weavers of Okinawa, whose work continues to inspire my own: Arakaki Sachiko, Ishigaki Akiko, Makishi Tamiko, and Shinzato Reiko.

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NOTES

1. Craig uses the terms "productive capacity," "officially listed productive capacity," and "official listings" for *kokudaka* and *omotekokudaka* (see Albert M. Craig, *Choshu in the Meiji Restoration*, Cambridge: Harvard Univ., 1967 p. 9ff). I prefer the terms "assessed value" and "production value" for *kokudaka* and *seisandaka*. For a discussion of the contrasting characteristics of the land allotment and individual allotment systems, see Toguchi Masakiyo, *Kinsei no Ryūkyū* (Tokyo: Hosei Daigaku Shuppan, 1975), p. 52–54.

2. Shimajiri Katsutarō, "Miyako nōmin no nintōzei haishiundō," in Okinawa Rekishi Kenkyūkai, ed., *Kindai Okinawa no rekishi to minshū* (Tokyo: Tōgensha, 1977) p. 329–30.

3. Sakihara, Mitsugu, "The Significance of Ryukyu in Satsuma Finances During the Tokugawa Period," (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Ph.D., 1971), p. 211–12.

4. Kamiya Eiko, "Tokugawa Tsunanari shoyō shima-asa haori ni tsuite," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 324 (June 1983), 68-69.

5. Sasamori Gisuke, *Nantō tanken — Ryūkyū manyūki* [1893], comp. Azuma Yoshimochi, 2 vols., Tōyō Bunko, vols. 411, 428 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1982–83), 1:225.

6. Sasamori, *Nantō tanken*, 1:292–3.

7. Sakihara, "Significance of Ryukyu," p. 89, 91.

8. Kishaba Eijun (Yaeyama Rekishi Henshū Iinkai), *Yaeyama Rekishi* (Ishigaki, 1954), p. 149.

9. Shimajiri, "Haishiundō," p. 57–58.

10. Sakihara, "Significance of Ryukyu," p. 21.

11. Toguchi Masakiyo, *Kinsei no Ryūkyū* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan, 1975), p. 53–55.

12. Sakihara, "Significance of Ryukyu," p. 72, 211.

13. Shimajiri, "Haishiundō," p. 63.

14. Sakihara cites a provision included in the "Kyūki zatsuroku" (Ijichi Sueyasu and Ijichi Seumichi [sic], comp., 362 vols., c.1819–1897, mss.; see Sakihara, *loc. cit.*, p. 65, and ftn. 18, p. 258), dated Keicho 16, Ninth Month, Tenth Day, stipulating "1,000 rolls of fine cloth," etc., while Yasue cites a tribute provision (*nengū kitei*) of the same date, published in Gushikawa-son Shi Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Kumejima Gushikawa-son shi* (Kumejima Gushikawa: Gushikawa-son Yakuba, 1976), p. 147, giving the quantity of "fine cloth" (*jofū*) as 6,000 rolls. Elsewhere, Sakihara cites the same figures as Yasue, but including cotton in place of floss silk, apparently a misreading of *watako* (*mawata:* silk floss or noil silk, *loc. cit.*, p. 38). He cites Kagoshima-ken, comp., *Kagoshima-ken shi* (Kagoshima: n.p., 1939–43), vol. 2, p. 634; Ichiji Sueyasu, *Seihan densoko*, in *Nihon keizai sōsho*, ed. Takimoto Seiichi (Tokyo: n.p., 1916), vol. 26, p. 495; and Ichiji Sueyasu, "Nanpei kikō," (1832, ms.), 3, folio 15a. These all appear to refer to the same document, but I have not yet been able to compare them.

15. Tanaka Toshio and Tanaka Reiko, *Okinawa orimono no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shikōsha, 1976), p. 78–79.

16. Sakihara, "Significance of Ryukyu," p. 65ff.

17. If this statement is reliable. Inemura refers to *Kyūyō*, no citation (Inemura, *Shōminshi*, p. 325). Takehara Pechin Keitaku mentions the substitution of cloth for tax grain in 1625 ["Gotōkoku ontaka narabi ni shōjōnō ritsumoriki," quoted in Kishaba Kazutaka, "Nantō shoki nintōzei no shūhen, 2," *Nantōshigaku* 4 (1974.4), p. 39], twelve years before the establishment of *nintōzei*.

18. Inemura Kenpu, *Miyakojima Shominshi* (Hirara: Inemura Kenpu, 1957), p. 322. The concept of a poll tax is not unique to Ryukyu or to Japan, but is a worldwide phenomenon (Nakasone Shōji, "Nintōzei," in Okinawa Daihyakka Jiten Kankō Jimukyoku, ed., *Okinawa daihyakka jiten*, vol. 2 [Naha: Okinawa Times, 1983], p. 140).

19. Yasue Kōji, "Kumejima shakaishi no ichi danmen to dentō sangyō no yakuwari — ikutsu ka no 'Kumejima tsumugi-ron' o toriagetsutsu," in Hōsei Daigaku Hyakushūnen Kinen Kumejima Chosa Iinkai, ed., *Okinawa Kumejima no sōgōteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1984), p. 44. I quote the passage in full from Yasue, based on "Okinawa kyūkan sozei seido" in Ryūkyū Seifu, ed., *Okinawa-ken shi*, vol. 21, *Shiryō-hen* 11 (Naha: Okinawa Seifu, 1968), p. 258:

> The structure of Kumejima's land tax is based on the *daigakari* land tax of Okinawa Island, with a certain amount supplemented by a poll

tax assessed like that of Miyako and Yaeyama. It falls into the two categories of rice paddy and dry field taxes. According to the reclamation or abandonment, the increase or decrease in the assessed value of the land, the amount of the tax also changes. In the inclusion of corvée (*buekisen*) and a special products tax (*ukitokuzei*) in the dry field tax, and the collection of a surcharge or supplementary tax (*kasamidemai, kasabedemai*) based on the assessed value [of the land], etc., there is no difference from the taxation structure of Okinawa Island. But it is only with regard to the conversion of a portion of the rice paddy tax payment from rice into pongee that the tax structure is based on individual assessment [as a poll tax].

20. The population survey was carried out in 1636 according to Sakihara ("Significance of Ryukyu," p. 89) and 1637 according to Inemura (*Shominshi*, p. 324). Shimajiri notes the *kokudaka* of Miyako for 1635 as 12,917 ("Haishiundo," p. 57); Toguchi cites 12,457.7 *koku* for 1635, raised to 12,917.58 *koku* in 1727 (*Kinsei*, p. 56), in agreement with Sakihara (*ibid.*). According to the latter, the *kokudaka* was raised to 12,918 in 1727, and thereafter remained unchanged.

21. Every adult between the ages of fifteen and fifty, both gentry and common people, was levied. Villages were divided into four classes, according to an alleged productivity rating. In 1711, the population was also divided into four age groups: 21-40, 41-45, 46-50, and 15-20. Kishaba Kazutaka quotes from Takehara Pechin Keitaku, "Gotōkoku ontaka narabi ni shojōnō ritsumoriki," ms., no page citation (Kishaba, "Nantō shoki," p. 39-40).

22. For a discussion of the reasons behind this change, see Kishaba K., "Nantō shoki," p. 39- 40. For population figures for Yaeyama from 1647 to 1873, see Takara Kurayoshi, "Kinsei Yaeyama hakenshisha zaiban nenpu to sono tokuchō," *Okinawa rekishiron jōsetsu* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1980), p. 128-51, and also Takara Kurayoshi, "Kinsei makki no Yaeyama tochi to jinkō mondai," *Okinawa Shiryō Henshujo Kiyō* 7 (1982.3).

23. Sakihara, "Significance of Ryukyu," p. 89-91, 93-94, 138. See Ichiki Kitokuro, "Ichiki Shokikan torishirabesho," in Ryūkyū Seifu, ed., *Okinawa kenshi* (Naha: Ryūkyū Seifu, 1965), vol. 14, *Shiryō-hen* 4, p. 572, 587; Kishaba K., "Nantō shoki," p. 35, 40 (quotes Takehara).

24. Tanaka, *Okinawa orimono*, p. 88.

25. Shimajiri, "Haishiundō," p. 61-62; Kishaba Eijun, *Yaeyama*, p. 141. For a discussion of *yomi*, warp density, see Tanaka, *Okinawa orimono*, p. 142-144. Miyagi Fumi seems to be mistaken in her analysis of *shimari*, or *yomi* (*Yaeyama seikatsushi* [Naha: Okinawa Times, 1972], p. 72-74). Sasamori questioned an official of Haemi village on Iriomote concerning the standards for classifying ramie cloth as fine, medium, or coarse grade (*Tanken*, vol. 1, p. 236).

26. Oshiro Shizuko, public lecture, Okinawa Prefectural Museum, September 26, 1987. See also Tanaka, *Okinawa orimono*, p. 15, note 13. Yanagi Soetsu, in his Afterword to the Tanakas' work, mentions that Tanaka Toshio was working on a study of the *miezuchō* at the time of his death in 1952 (*ibid.*, p. 290).

27. Ichiki Kitokurō, "Ichiki Shokikan torishirabesho" [1894], in Ryūkyū Seifu, ed., *Okinawa kenshi*, vol. 14, *Shiryo hen* 4 (Naha: Okinawa Seifu, 1965), p. 559-606; Uesugi Shigenori, "Okinawa-ken junkai nisshi," [1882] in Ryūkyū Seifu, ed., *Okinawa kenshi*, vol. 11, *Shiryō hen* 1 (Naha: Okinawa Seifu, 1965), p. 3-90.

28. Sakihara, "Significance of Ryukyu."

29. Kishaba Eijun, *Yaeyama*, p. 142.

30. Toguchi, *Kinsei*, p. 53-55.

31. Based on the author's observations in Okinawa, 1981-88.

32. Tanaka, *Okinawa orimono*, p. 142-46.

33. *Yaeyama*, p. 141.

34. Ōhama Shinken, *Yaeyama no nintōzei* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1971), p. 13-14, 137ff.

35. Ōhama, *Yaeyama no nintōzei*, p. 147-48, a story related to Ōhama by an old person (sex unspecified) of Ōkawa whose name begins with *T*. Ōhama does not say whether the teller was a witness to this incident, heard about it as a child decades afterwards, etc. Miyagi Fumi's encyclopaedic account, *Yaeyama seikatsushi*, should likewise be taken as one point of departure for further research, not dismissed as unscholarly.

36. Ōhama, *Nintōzei*, p. 138-39; see also p. 145-46. Inemura, *Shominshi*, p. 341-42; see also p. 343-45.

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